

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 NEAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 OMB-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 DHA-02

AID-05 EB-07 /075 W

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O P 111330Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9909

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMCONSUL BOMBAY PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMCONSUL MADRAS PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 9362

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT

SUBJ: ARRESTS SINCE INDIA'S EMERGENCY

SUMMARY: THE EMBASSY WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE CONSULATES ESTIMATES THAT WELL OVER SIX THOUSAND PERSONS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED IN INDIAN IN THE WAKE OF THE DECLARATION OF EMERGENCY JUNE 26. ALMOST FOUR THOUSAND OF THIS NUMBER CAN BE SAID TO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED FOR POLITICAL REASONS. AT LATEST COUNT TWENTY-NINE MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT HAVE BEEN DETAINED. IF WE HAVE ERRED IN OUR CALCULATIONS IT HAS BEEN ON THE CONSERVATIVE SIDE.
END SUMMARY.

1. DRAWING ON INFORMATION PUBLICLY AVAILABLE BY MID-DAY

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JULY 11, OUR BEST ESTIMATE FOR THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS

ARRESTED BY THE INDIAN AUTHORITIES SINCE JUNE 26 FOR REASONS RELATING TO THE DECLARATION OF EMERGENCY OF THAT DATE IS ABOUT 6365. AN ESTIMATED 3874 OF THESE PERSONS WERE ARRESTED FOR POLITICAL REASONS AND 2491 PERSONS, OR THE BALANCE, ARRESTED FOR WHAT WE HAVE TERMED SOCIO-ECONOMIC REASONS. SUBSUMED IN THE POLITICAL CATEGORY ARE THOSE ARRESTS PUBLICLY DESCRIBED AS "POLITICAL" AND THOSE WHICH HAVE RESULTED FROM THE PROSCRIPTION OF THE EXTREMIST COMMUNAL ORGANIZATIONS (RSS, ANAND MARG, JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI, ETC.) WE ESTIMATE THERE ARE 1819 IN THE FORMER CATEGORY AND 2055 IN THE LATTER. THOSE ARRESTED FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC REASONS INCLUDE THE ALLEGED SMUGGLERS, PRICE GOUGERS, "BAD CHARACTERS," ETC. ROUNDED UP SINCE JUNE 26 IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EMERGENCY.

2. THERE IS OF COURSE NO PUBLICLY AVAILABLE OFFICIAL GRAND TOTAL OF ARRESTS FOR EITHER INDIAN AS A WHOLE OR ANY INDIVIDUAL STATE OR UNION TERRITORY. THE CONSULATES AND THE EMBASSY HAVE RATHER HAD TO DRAW TOGETHER VARIOUS FIGURES AS THEY APPEARED IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND THE PRESS OVER THE PAST DAYS. IF WE HAVE ERRED WE HAVE DONE SO ON THE CONSERVATIVE SIDE, FOR INFORMATION FOR SOME STATES AND AREAS IS NOT AT ALL AVAILABLE, AND WE SUSPECT THAT EVERY EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE BY THOSE SELECTIVELY RELEASING FIGURES TO MINIMIZE THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ARRESTS, ESPECIALLY THOSE ARRESTS IN THE POLITICAL CATEGORY. IT IS TRUE SOME ARRESTED PERSONS HAVE BEEN RELEASED, E.G., AFTER SIGNING PLEDGES NOT TO RESUME POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON BEHALF OF ONE OR ANOTHER PROSCRIBED ORGANIZATION. BUT IN THE CURRENT SITUATION WHERE GOI CENSORS SCREEN SENSITIVE INFORMATION AND DELAY OR BAR ITS PUBLICATION, THE GREATER RISK IS THAT OUR ESTIMATE IS TOO LOW. TOMORROW'S PAPERS WILL BRING FIGURES SHOWING NEW ARRESTS CARRIED OUT AS THIS REPORT IS BEING TYPED.

3. THERE IS NO EVEN DISTRIBUTION OF ARRESTS THROUGH THE COUNTRY. SOME STATES IN FACT SHOW DISPROPORTIONATELY HIGH TOTALS. THE DISPROPORTIONS IN PART MAY RELATE TO THE EFFECTIVENESS (OR INEFFECTIVENESS) OF THE CENSORSHIP REGIMES IN CERTAIN LOCALITIES. IT ALSO CERTAINLY RELATES TO THE COUNTRY-WIDE DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS OF PROSCRIBED ORGANIZATIONS. FOR

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EXAMPLE WE HAVE HEARD OF INDISCRIMINATE ARRESTS OF RSS MEMBERS IN MADHYA PRADESH, WHERE THEIR NUMBER IS LARGE, AND OUR LATEST FIGURES OVERALL SHOW ABOUT ONE THOUSAND POLITICAL ARRESTS IN THAT STATE. THE CONSULATE GENERAL IN MADRAS BELIEVES THERE MAY BE A SIMILAR PATTERN OF INDISCRIMINATE ARRESTS IN KARNATAKA (ESTIMATED 174 TOTAL POLITICAL ARRESTEES), IN THIS INSTANCE BECAUSE THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENT THERE SEEMS EAGER TO SHOW MRS GANDHI THAT IT IS ENTUSIASTICALLY IMPLEMENTING EVERY GOI

EMERGENCY DIRECTIVE. BECAUSE OF THE CRACKDOWN ON JP'S FOLLOWERS, THE POLITICAL ARRESTS IN BIHAR HAVE ALSO BEEN HIGH.

4. EMBASSY OR PUBLICLY AVAILABE SOURCES INDICATE THAT THE FOLLOWING 29 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT BELONGING TO BOTH THE LOK SABHA (LS) AND RAJYA SABHA (RS) HAVE BEEN ARRESTED SO FAR:

CONGRESS (R) BHARATIYA LOK DAL (BLD)
CHANDRA SEKHAR RS PILOO MODY LS
RAM DHAN LS JANESHWAR MISHRA LS
 BHAGIRATH BHANWAR LS
KERALA CONGRESS
R. BALAKRISHNA PILLAI LS RAJ NARAIN RS
 H.M. PATEL LS
CONGRESS-O:
MORARJI DESAI LS
S.N. MISHGA LS SOCIALIST PARTY:
JANA SANGH: SAMAR GUHA LS
L.D. ADVANI RS MADHU LIMAYE LS
V.K. SAKHLECHA RS MADHU DANDAVATE LS
S.C. ANGRE RS SHARAD YADAV LS
A.B. VAJPAYEE LS K. CHANDRASEKHARAN RS
MUKHITYAR SINGH LS CPM:
M.S. SHAKYA LS NOORUL HUDA LS
H.C. KACHWAI LS JYOTIRMOY BOSU LS
R.R. SHARMA LS A.K. GOPALAN LS
SMT. VIJAYA RAJE SCINDIA LS AKALI DAL:
 GURCHARAN SING TEHRA RS

IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THERE HAVE BEEN CONFLICTING REPORTS ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT CPM MEMBER JYOTIRMOY BOSU HAS BEEN ARRESTED. IT IS STILL NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR. GYI. YOUR NAME
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LIST WAS DERIVED FROM PARLIAMENT HOUSE TABULATIONS AS OF JULY 11. H.M. PATEL'S NAME COMES FROM CONGEN BOMBAY ON THE SAME DATE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MARTIAL LAW, ARRESTS, POLITICAL PRISONERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NEWDE09362
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750240-0492
From: NEW DELHI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750764/aaaacfnfng.tel
Line Count: 158
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02 JUL 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <03 JUL 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ARRESTS SINCE INDIA'S EMERGENCY SUMMARY: THE EMBASSY WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE CONSULATES ESTI-
TAGS: PFOR, PINT
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006